

**ZA7876**

**The TRI 2007 and CMP 2013 Surveys of Members of Parliament**

**Methodological Report**

# **The TRI 2007 and CMP 2013 Surveys of Members of Parliament**

## **Documentation of the Integrated Data File**

April 27, 2022/UHL

### **1. The Integrated Data File**

These two surveys of members of parliament in two old and five new democracies were conducted in the context of a larger comparative study of democratic development. The multinational team was headed by Ursula van Beek at the University of Stellenbosch. Funding for the first wave was provided by the Daimler Foundation for five of the seven countries, by the Fritz Thyssen Foundation for Germany, and for South Korea by Professor Sang-Jing Han and the Speaker of the Korean National Assembly. The 2013 wave was funded by the Riksbanken Jubileumsfond of Sweden.

While the TRI 2007 elite survey did not only include members of parliament, but also media elites, the integrated data file includes parliamentarians only. The bulk of the questions (Q questions) were asked in both waves, while N questions were only included in the CMP 2013 survey and dealt with the perceived impact of the global financial and economic crisis that started in 2008.

### **2. PIs of the Surveys**

#### **2.1 2007**

For the overall survey: Professor Ursula van Beek, University of Stellenbosch

Chile: Marta Lagos, Latinobarómetro, Santiago de Chile

Germany: Professor Ursula Hoffmann-Lange, Faculty of Social Sciences, Economics, and Business Administration, University of Bamberg

Poland: Professor Radosław Markowski, Center for the Study of Democracy, University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Warsaw

South Africa: Professor Hennie Kotzé, University of Stellenbosch

South Korea: Professor Sang-Jin Han, Department of Sociology, Seoul National University

Sweden: Professor Thorleif Petterson, Department of Theology and Sociology of Religion, University of Uppsala

Turkey: Professor Yilmaz Esmer, Department of Political Science and International Relations, Bahçeşehir University Istanbul

#### **2.2 2013**

For the overall survey:

Professor Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Berlin Social Science Center (WZB)

Professor Yilmaz Esmer, Bahçeşehir University Istanbul

Professor Ursula Hoffmann-Lange, University of Bamberg

The PIs for all countries except for Sweden were the same as above

Sweden: Professor Patrik Öhberg, SOM Institute, Department of Journalism, Media and Communication, University of Gothenburg

### 3. VARIABLES WAVE, ID

The first two variables in the data file are WAVE and ID. Wave refers to the year of study and has two possible values: 1 for 2007 and 2 for 2013-14. ID variable has four digits with the first digit being the country code. Thus, an ID value of 7090, for example, refers to the 90<sup>th</sup> case in Turkey.

### 4. Year of Birth

To protect the anonymity of the respondents, the year of birth was grouped by decades:

- Before 1940
- 1940 - 1949
- 1950 – 1959
- 1960 – 1969
- 1970 and later

### 5. Field Work TRI 2007 and CMP 2013

Information on the field work of the TRI 2007 survey can be found on the last two pages of this document.

#### Field Work CMP 2013

	Sample size (# of interviews completed)	Interviewing begins	Interviewing ends	Mode of interviewing 1 face-to- face 2 Telephone 3 Mail 4 Online 5 Self-Adm	Weighting required?	Date of last election before interviewing started	Total # of seats in national parliament
CHILE	105	9 July 2013	3 Sep 2013	1	YES	13 Dec 2009	120
GERMANY	112	10 May 2013	4 Mar 2014	1,2,3,4	YES	27 Sep 2009	622
POLAND	150	12 June 2013	26 Sep 2013	1	NO	9 Nov 2011	460
S. AFRICA	142	27 Sept 2013	15 Nov 2013	1	YES	22 Apr 2009	400
S. KOREA	105	17 July 2013	16 Dec 2013	1,4,5	YES	11 Apr 2012	300
SWEDEN	107	24 April 2013	5 July 2013		YES	19 Sep 2010	349
TURKEY	152	5 Mar 2013	15 Nov 2013	1	NO	12 Jun 2011	550

## 6. CMP 2013: Q68 REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

For obvious reasons, different countries used different organizations for this question (Q68). They are:

- 1 CHILE: no information available
- 2 GERMANY: EU
- 3 POLAND: EU
- 4 S. AFRICA: AFRICAN UNION
- 5 S. KOREA: ASEAN
- 6 SWEDEN: EU
- 7 TURKEY: EU

## 7. ADDITIONAL VARIABLES

Variables N55 through N63 (to repeat, N questions are questions that were not used in the first wave (2007) of our study but were included in the second wave. Only some countries asked some or all of these questions. They are properly labeled.

## 8. Publications

van Beek, Ursula J. (ed.). 2010. *Democracy under scrutiny: Elites, citizens, cultures*. Opladen and Faarmington Hills MI: Barbara Budrich Publishers.

***Most of the contributions to this volume were based on the TRI 2007 data. These are the chapters by Thorleif Petterson, Simon Moritz, Ursula Hoffmann-Lange, Yilmaz Esmer, Hennie Kotzé & Pierre du Toit as well as Sang-Jin Han.***

### ***Taiwan Journal of Democracy, Volume 11, No. 1, July 2015***

Contributions:

“Economic Crisis and Political Polarization: A Challenge to Civic Culture?” (Yilmaz Esmer)

“The Impact of the Great Recession on Support for Democracy” (Ursula Hoffmann-Lange)

“Market Economy or Social Welfare Policy? The Programmatic Responses of Political Parties to the Global Recession” (Hans-Dieter Klingemann)

### ***Historical Research (HSR Vol. 43 2018 No. 4) Special Issue: Challenged Elites – Elites as Challengers***

Contributions:

Heinrich Best and Ursula Hoffmann-Lange. Challenged Elites – Elites as Challengers. Towards a Unified Theory of Representative Elites, 7-32.

Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Ursula Hoffmann-Lange. The Impact of the Global Economic Crisis on Support for Democracy, 164-174.

Ursula Hoffmann-Lange. Parliamentarians’ Evaluations of the Global Economic Crisis. 175-202.

Hans-Dieter Klingemann. The Impact of the Global Economic Crisis of Patterns of Support for Democracy in Germany. 203-234.

Patrik Öhberg. Not all Crises are Detrimental for the Government. The Global Economic Crisis and the Swedish Case. 235-249.

Radosław Markowski and Agnieszka Kwiatkowska. The Political Impact of the Global Economic Crisis in Poland: Delayed and Indirect Effects. 250-273.

Sang-Jin Han and Young-Hee Shim. The Global Economic Crisis, Dual Polarization, and Liberal Democracy in South Korea. 274-299.

Yilmaz Esmer and Bahar Ayça Okçuoğlu. Dimensions of Political Representation: Ideological and Policy Congruence between the Representative and the Represented in Seven Countries. 300-340.

### **Other publications**

Dirk Berg-Schlosser and Ursula Hoffmann-Lange (2018): Democratic Quality and Legitimacy in the TRU Countries. In: Ursula van Beek (ed.): *Democracy under Threat. A Crisis of Legitimacy?* London: Palgrave Macmillan 2018, pp. 45-90.

Carlos Garcia-Rivero and Hennie Kotzé (2019) "The value and partisanship basis of left-right placement after the financial crisis. A comparative mass-elite analysis of 5 selected democracies", *Comparative Sociology*, 18(6), 567-594.

Carlos Garcia-Rivero and Hennie Kotzé (2020) "The 2007-2009 Financial Crisis. An Elite–Citizens Analysis of the Legitimacy of Seven Selected Contemporary Democracies", *Comparative Sociology* 19 (4/5), 437-464.

Sang-Jin Han (2019): Genealogical Traces of Populism and Multiple Typologies of Populist Orientations in South Korea: An Empirical Analysis. *Populism*, Vol. 2 (1), 29-52.

Ursula Hoffmann-Lange (2019): The Development of Political Legitimacy among MPs and Citizens in Old and Young Democracies. In: Fredrik Engelstad, Trygve Gulbrandsen, Marte Mangset and Marie Teigen (eds.): *Elites and People: Challenges to Democracy*. Bingley (UK): Emerald 2019, pp. 35-59 (*Contemporary Social Research*, Vol 34).

Hennie Kotzé and Carlos Garcia-Rivero (2017) Institutions, crises, and political confidence in seven contemporary democracies". An elite–mass analysis. *Journal of Public Affairs*, 17: e1642.

Hennie J. Kotzé and Reinet Loubser (2017) Religiosity in South Africa: Trends among the Public and Elites, *Scriptura*, No 116 (1), 1-17

Hennie J. Kotzé and Reinet Loubser (2017) South Africa's Democratic Consolidation in Perspective Mapping Socio-Political Changes, *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, Vol 13 (1), 41-64.

Hennie J. Kotzé and Reinet Loubser (2018) Christian Ethics in South Africa: Liberal Values Among the Public and Elites, *Scriptura*, No. 117 (1), 1-23.

## 9. CMP Survey: Party Questions – Parties Coded as Party A to Party H

For variables N11 – N15, N24 to N28 and N35 to N39 the following parties were coded as party A to party H in the seven countries:

	Chile <sup>1</sup>	Germany	Poland	South Africa	South Korea <sup>2</sup>	Sweden	Turkey
Party A	Partido Demócrata Cristiano (PDC)	Christian Democratic Party (CDU/CSU)	Platforma Obywatelska (PO) <i>Civic Platform</i>	African National Congress (ANC)	Saenuri Party (N13,N25,N38)	Social Democratic Party	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP) Conservative, Islamic roots and tendencies
Party B	Partido Por la Democracia (PPD)	Social Democratic Party (SPD)	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS), <i>Law and Justice</i>	Democratic Alliance (DA)	Democratic Party Minju-dang (N14,N26,N39)	Moderate Party	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP) Founded by Atatürk; secular; left of center
Party C	Partido Socialista (PS)	Free Democratic Party (FDP)	Ruch Palikota (RP), <i>Palikot Movement</i>	Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	Unified Progressive Party (N15,N27,N40)	Green Party	Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (MHP) Nationalist
Party D	Unión Demócrata Independiente (UDI)	Die Linke (Left)	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL), <i>Polish Peoples' Party</i>	Congress of the People (COPE)	Progressive Justice Party (N16,N28,N41)	Liberal People's Party	BDP (Now HDP) Ethnic Kurdish
Party E	Renovación Nacional (RN)	Bündnis '90/Grüne (Greens)	Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (SLD), <i>Alliance of the Democratic Left</i>	empty	(New Political Vision Party; not in 2013) Ahn Choel-soo camp (N29,N42)	Centre Party	
Party F	Partido Comunista (PC)	empty	Solidarna Polska (SP), <i>Solidary Poland</i>	empty	empty	Sweden Democrats	
Party G	Partido Humanista (PH)	empty	empty	empty	empty	Christian Democrats	
Party H	Partido Regionalista de Los Independientes (PRI)	empty	empty	empty	empty	empty	

<sup>1</sup> The Chilean questionnaire asked for five more parties and included three more party variables which are not included on the integrated data file

<sup>2</sup> These parties have not been coded in the variables they were supposed to be placed!!! See variable labels in parenthesis.

10. Fieldwork for TRI 2007 Survey (from Ursula van Beek (ed.). 2010. *Democracy under scrutiny. Elites citizens, cultures*. Barbara Budrich Publishers, p. 309 and 310)

DATA COLLECTION					
Country	Fieldwork	Number of Interviewers	Establishing Contact	Type of Interview	Special Interviewer Instructions
CHILE	13 December 2006 to 23 January 2007	8	Interviewers contacted parliamentarians either personally or by mail and contacted the media respondents telephonically	Face-to-face interviews	Interviewers participated in a two-hour training session in which they read through and resolved any doubts or questions they had with regards to the questionnaire
GERMANY	23 February to 8 August 2007	14*	Respondents were contacted by mail and asked for their participation in the study. In the letter, they were given the option to indicate date and time for an interview by e-mail. Those who did not respond, were contacted by telephone	203 Face-to-face interviews and 7 telephone interviews with respondents with whom appointments for a personal interview were particularly difficult to reach	Interviewer briefing by Field Organisation
POLAND	21 May to 14 August 2007	12	Contacts were made by the interviewers, usually by phone; each interviewer had a letter from the principal investigator explaining main objectives of the TRI project; letters were also sent to the leaders of the parliamentary clubs in Polish parliament	Face-to-face interviews	Briefing sessions were held during which the entire questionnaire was read through with the interviewers and any concerns addressed
SOUTH AFRICA	28 February to 28 May 2007	53*	Respondents were first contacted via telephone by the interviewers and a letter explaining the background of the survey was emailed / posted to them; an interview time was then arranged	Face-to-face interviews	Briefing sessions were held during which the entire questionnaire was read through with the interviewers and any concerns addressed
SOUTH KOREA	20 November 2006 to 9 March 2007	11	All contacts were made personally by the interviewers	Face-to-face interviews	Interviewers had to receive the personal signing of respondents at the end of questionnaire
SWEDEN	26 March – 15 November 2007	5	Parliamentarians were first contacted via telephone by the interviewers; an interview time was then arranged. The media elite received an introductory letter, explaining the purpose of the survey	Face-to-face interviews with Parliamentarians and self-administered questionnaires to media	Interviewers were trained at one session where the purpose of the interviews, and the meaning of the questions were explained and discussed
TURKEY	4 November 2006 – 24 May 2007	34**	Parliamentarians were contacted at their offices for a convenient time of interviewing and media respondents were contacted by telephone and sometimes in person for a convenient time.	Face-to-face interviews	Two-day training and mock interviews were held where extensive instructions on how to persuade and how to handle difficult situations were given
<p>* In Germany and South Africa, more interviewers were utilized because their respective elite samples consisted of more than two sectors (parliamentarians and media). The German sample consisted of three sectors (with the addition of civil servants); whilst the South African sample consisted of five sectors (with the addition of civil servants, business and church).</p> <p>** Although the Turkish sample consisted of only the two elite sectors (parliamentarians and media), the large number of respondents (N) accounts for the larger number of interviewers.</p>					



SAMPLING FRAMES AND RESPONSE RATES					
Country	Sector	Sample Size (N)	Sampling Source	Sampling Method	Response Rate
CHILE	Parliament	99	A list of all the members of the Chamber of Deputies	All 120 members were approached for the study	82.5%
	Media	25	A list of the political and parliamentary correspondents to Congress	All 25 journalists/correspondents were approached	100%
GERMANY	Parliament	101	A data-set including all members of the German Bundestag, created for this study	To achieve a relation of 70:30 for East and West German parliamentarians, a first sample was drawn that included 60 East German and 140 West German parliamentarians. However, a second sample of another 250 parliamentarians had to be drawn which included all of the East German Bundestag members	16.7%
	Media	109	The register of members of the Federal Press Conference („Bundespressekonferenz“)	Random sampling of the 1061 members on list, excluding: free-lancers not attached to any particular media organization (n=109), journalists working for foreign media (n=13), journalists not based in Berlin (n=86), photographers (n=34)	37.2%
POLAND	Parliament	99	A database that was used previously constructed (2006) for a study on Polish parliamentary elite - the <i>Polish National Election Study survey on Polish MPs</i>	Parliamentary clubs were proportionally (to their number of seats in the chamber) represented in the sample	99.0%
	Media	50	(Polish) SMG/KRC Press Track, Radio Track SMG/KRC Poland Media SA and AGB Nielsen Media Research telemetric data	Limited media respondents to journalists by informed judgment	96.1%
SOUTH AFRICA	Parliament	100	The list of parliamentarians was drawn up using the following directories: <a href="http://oldwww.parliament.gov.za">http://oldwww.parliament.gov.za</a> <a href="http://www.contacttrust.org.za/directory">http://www.contacttrust.org.za/directory</a>	Parliamentarians were randomly sampled from amongst the 400 members of the National Assembly (cabinet ministers were excluded as it would have been virtually impossible to reach them for an interview)	46.5%
	Media	51	Lists of leaders within various media sectors were given to interviewers including: Editors and Deputy Editors of leading South African newspapers; Parliamentary correspondents working for major newspapers and the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), senior individuals working for SABC news, in the radio sector (both SABC and independent), and highly influential individuals from various media sectors which were identified in collaboration with experts in the media field. Once these lists were exhausted, Markinor once again used the South African based database program, MATRIX to get additional names of media leaders.	A random sample was drawn from the lists of individuals provided	39.5%
SOUTH KOREA	Parliament	100	The official parliamentary homepage, <a href="http://www.assembly.go.kr/index.jsp">http://www.assembly.go.kr/index.jsp</a>	Purposive sampling by Party and regional constituency	70.5%
	Media	51	The official list book, <i>Directory of Korean Journalists</i>	Stratified random sampling by press and area (capital & local)	30.3%
SWEDEN	Parliament	101	The official register for all elected members of the Swedish parliament, including ministers and speakers.	Randomly sampled from the official register	69.7%
	Media	66	The sample consisted of the chief political editors in the main Swedish newspapers, together with the leading political journalists, participating regularly in Swedish TV or radio political news programs, or regularly publishing well known and often quoted political columns in leading Swedish newspapers	The sample for media elite was designed and discussed by experts on the Swedish media situation	67.3%
TURKEY	Parliament	148	Official roster of Parliamentarians readily available at <a href="http://www.tbmm.gov.tr">www.tbmm.gov.tr</a>	Random sample of 200 respondents	74.0%
	Media	226	Editors in chief, editors, political editors, columnists/commentators and correspondents of all major newspapers and national television	All chief editors included and random samples of the other categories	80.7%